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CONTENTS

ARTICLES
Kaka Kinship, Sex, and Adultery ..... William D. Reyburn 1
The Bridges of God ..... William A. Smalley 22

CHRISTIANITY IN HUMAN CULTURE
Motivations for Christianity: An African Conversation ....
..... W.D.R. 27

PRACTICAL PROBLEMS
Missionary Interpersonal Relations--Younger versus Older .. 33
..... Reply by Charles Kraft 34
Living in a Bulu Village ..... James Muir 37
..... Reply by William D. Reyburn 37

BOOK REVIEWS
Anthropology and Missions, by Donald H. Bouma .....
..... Reviewed by J.O.B., III 39
The Communication of the Christian Faith, by Hendrik Kraemer
..... Reviewed by J.O.B., III 40
Aspects of Culture, by Harry L. Shapiro .....
..... Reviewed by J.O.B., III 42
Some Uses of Anthropology: Theoretical and Applied .....
..... Reviewed by Claude Stipe 43

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR
On the Outfit List ..... J. Edwin Hudspith 45

EDITORIAL REMARKS ..... W.A.S. 46

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KAKA KINSHIP, SEX, AND ADULTERY[1]

William D. Reyburn

A detailed description of Kaka kinship system and the socially regulated behavior that is built into it would require more space than would be justified here. Hence I will attempt to develop only those points in Kaka kinship and social behavior which have a bearing upon sexual mores. It is hoped that a review of these factors will structure for us the context from which the Kaka Christian and non-Christian derive their sexual codes which are so divergent from our own. In stating these matters I wish to remark that in attempting to understand Kaka sexual values from the kin and social system I am not hereby pleading for the justification of such behavior nor for the defense of the Kaka traditional ways of thinking about such things. Evangelization of an African tribe is very much tied up with sexual behavior. This is as true to state as the remark that frontier evangelization in the western U.S. in the last century was involved in horses, six-guns, agriculture, and law enforcement. The fact that church sessions are swamped with adultery palavers in African communities is sufficient reason to warrant an attempt to understand the foundations of sexual values in African societies.

While the data here are drawn from personal investigations among the Kaka of the Eastern Cameroun, it should not be thought that the Bulu and Basa are radically different. In a general way the systems, attitudes, and values are essentially similar. The details will vary. Any missionary can and should investigate these subjects for his own comprehension of his work. In order to assist missionaries who care to follow up these leads among the tribal peoples among whom they work, I have set this paper out in the form of a series of questions and answers.

One should be cautioned on two points here, however. First, the questions that I have written are too generally stated to be of value to ask an African. However, within the replies following each question there will be found material which will be suitable for more specific questioning. Also, ques-

tions should be addressed to people who are sure where you stand. If the informant feels that you are out to trap him, his replies will be nothing more than a defense for himself. There is no substitute for confidence and close rapport. Christians and non-Christians, young and old, male and female should be questioned. If a missionary has lived with a people for a number of years and suddenly appears to become inquisitive about many aspects of the African's private life, it may be resented and the African will politely sidestep each question. The best informant is one who is convinced that the missionary is respectfully attempting to learn the African way of doing things.

1. What is the largest socially cohesive group to which every Kaka individual belongs?

The clan. Every Kaka person belongs to a patriclan which is made up of all the people who issue from a common legendary male ancestor. Descent is reckoned through the male line only. Hence each person, male or female, belongs to the clan (mbo) of his father. The clan is an exogamous group, meaning that no man or woman of the same clan may intermarry. Furthermore, premarital and extramarital sex relations between members of the same clan are considered incestuous and the offenders subject to supernatural punishment. The clan often coincides with the village, but in many cases a clan is large and is spread over a number of villages. It is not infrequent that struggles for clan leadership cause one portion of a clan to split into several subclans. These continue to practice clan exogamy and other clan taboos and rituals. The strength of a clan depends upon its population and wealth. It is the desire of each clan to be the largest dominating force among many clans.

In the clan, be it Bulu, Basa, or Kaka, one regards all the other people in the clan as being related to himself, and he calls them by classificatory kin terms. His real father and father's brothers and other men of his father's generation are all "fathers." His grandfather and grandfather's brothers are all "grandfathers." His cousins are all "brothers" and "sisters," and his nieces and nephews, along with his own offspring, are all "sons and daughters." His mother belongs to a

different clan (that of her father) and in that clan he has many "mothers," since he extends this term to cover all the female members of his mother's clan. Likewise among the Kaka, he calls all the women of his father's mother's clan "mother," and the same for the women of his mother's mother's clan.

2. What is a "family"?

In addition to being a member of a clan, a Kaka individual is born into a specific family group. However, "family" does not mean to an African what Europeans and Americans take it to mean to them. The lack of an equivalent term in the language of the South Cameroun for the European elementary family reflects the fact that the Africans do not conceive of the elementary family as being a valid concept. A Kaka belongs to a ddité, "a common fire place." A lineage group within the clan forms a cluster of residences. There are brothers and their wives and offspring. Looking at this lineage group from the viewpoint of a child, one sees a cluster of houses in which are living my fathers and my brothers and my mothers. Since I am treated the same in any one of them and will be fed and helped or scolded alike at any one of these, there is little point in singling out "my family" as against "your family." Consequently, ddité of the Kaka is a cooperative, sharing-common-authority residential group where the European idea of "family" is spread over and completely mixed into several elementary families. The ddité group is a more personal one than the clan taken as a whole. While a person calls many men "father," he knows which is his real father and the behavior toward him differs from that of more removed "fathers." Likewise, the boys in one ddité have a stronger feeling as "brothers" than they do for all the other "brothers" in the other ddité of the clan.

To summarize, then, the patriclan is a male descent group. It is like a club in which every child born belongs to his or her father's club. The rules of the club say that girls must go and live where their husbands' fathers' club men are. Also there are strict prohibitions against marriage between members of the same club, or even into the club of your mother or your two grandmothers. One classifies people in his clan roughly

into four groups, grandfathers, fathers, brothers and sisters, and offspring.

3. What is the basis for authority in the clan and ddité, and how is it structured?

The Kaka conceive of authority as an aspect of the male lineage. The greatest authority is the one who originated the mbo or clan. Consequently, each male ancestor receives his authority from his predecessor and passes it down through the lineage. It is because of this that the dead are literally more powerful and respected than the living. The oldest living male, unless he has become too senile to function, is the respected authority of the mbo. The outstanding elderly leader of the largest mbo in a village is normally the village chief. Wealth and numbers are the criteria for strength in the mbo. Among the Kaka it is common for a village to include a half-dozen clans. Bulu villages are commonly one clan only. The married women are, of course, outsiders and belong to clans other than their husbands'.

Authority may be transferred at the will of a chief who does not wish to pass it on to his incapable son. In this case the new chief accepts the members of the expiring chief's clan as his "orphans" and he thereby puts himself under great obligation to those people.

In a village consisting of several mbo each has its own mbo head man. These individuals form the group of notables who are present for discussion of village affairs with the village chief. A village chief may be much younger than his notables, but his authority rests not in his personality but in his relationship as heir of his father's lineage group. The power and authority in the ruling lineage does not cease unless another lineage becomes stronger and takes over by sheer weight of wealth and numbers.

The lines of respect within the ddité flow from the oldest males (grandfathers) down to fathers and on down to sons and finally to grandsons. A female has authority in the ddité as a paternal aunt. She functions as a "female father" in author-

ity over her brother's children. Women and girls are on the bottom rung of the hierarchy and do not count in the general scheme of things as people with authority. However, a mother who comes from a large clan and ddité may call on the help of her fathers and brothers to assist her in exerting influence in her family.

It should be remarked that the real authority in the Kaka area is the village chief. The "Chef de Canton" is an administration-linked position created by the whites. The success of the Chef de Canton depends upon his ability to secure the cooperation of the real village authorities, the village chiefs. It is still common for a village to put up a straw chief who will receive the abuse and probings of the administration. They value their native authority too much to expose him to the often crude and unwelcomed contacts with administrators engaged in such tasks as recruiting laborers, taking census, and collecting taxes.

4. What are the primary kin relations within the clan and ddité, and what are some of their socially established relations?

In the following discussion we will speak from the point of view of a male "I". Remember that I am of my father's clan. My mother belongs to a different clan.

Grandparents. As a child my relationship to grandparents is the most pleasant and most indulgent experience imaginable. I can get away with anything. If I break their dishes, they think I am the cutest little thing. If I cry, they bounce me on their knees and coo at me, and if I scream to the top of my voice, they merely laugh and howl with me. They will stop anything they are doing to get food for me, and if I have a long, heartbreaking experience to relate, the most tender, sympathizing hearts in all the world are my grandparents'. My paternal grandfather, I later come to learn, is the most feared and respected of all the men in my ddité, but since we have all learned to love him for his indulgence we continue as men to love him for his ability and old age. He will someday be joining the big grandfather in another world, and they will be

strong to help our ddité. Someday I shall grow up to have the power of my grandfather.

Fathers. I have lots of fathers: my real father who says he bore me, and his brothers. They are the ones who teach me to hunt and fish and to make my way in the world. They instruct me about women, and they tell me the secrets of our mbo. I never question their authority because they are the sons of my grandfather. Someday they will have his power. I have many other fathers. All the men in my mbo who are of my father's generation I call "father," and "grandfather" those in the next older generation. These men are like real fathers, but they have their own ddité and they are not quite so close as my real father and his brothers. Other men I call "father" are the husbands of my father's sisters and of my mother's sisters. You may wonder how I know to call all of these men "father." It is real easy; as a child I heard them all call me "my son." So I know which ones to call "my father."

Mother. Just as I have many "fathers," I also have many "mothers." First, there is my real mother who gave birth to me. Then there are all of her sisters. For all of the men whom I call "father" I likewise call their wives "mother." This includes the many wives of my father. While I call all of them "mother," I know that my heart is always on the side of just one when I hear them argue and fight; that's the one who bore me. My real mother gives me lots of "mothers" because I call all of the women of mother's clan by the term "mother." When I say "mother" to all of these women of many different ages, I don't really mean "mother of my ddité." It is just a way I have of showing respect for all the women of my mother's clan. Sometime I may see a girl who is very pretty and want to have relations with her, but if I call that girl "mother" I get sick in my stomach if I should think of her genitals. If I know one of these "mothers" is bathing in the river, there is something in my heart that causes me to turn my head and not see her, or I cross the river at some place where I won't see her. This is true also for all the girls and women in my maternal and paternal grandmother's clans. They all call me "son" and I call them "mother." My fathers have always told

us that, if we had sex relations with a "mother," both the mother and the man would die an awful death and no medicine, not even the Christian's God, could prevent it.

Once one of my "fathers" dreamed of sleeping with one of his "mothers." In the morning he awoke with a fever and after he confessed what his spirit had done in the night he became terribly ill and in a few days was dead. My fathers use this story to remind us never to allow our spirits to stray toward "mothers." We hear that white people can marry nearly anyone except sisters and that they don't die. The fathers that come back from the cities tell how our tribe brothers in the cities are beginning to do like the whites. Maybe someday we will start trying the white man's ways in the villages, too. The Christian God may protect us like he does the whites.

Brothers and sisters. Just as I call every woman "mother" who calls me "son," so I call every boy "brother" and every girl "sister" who calls me by those terms. Speaking of people of my own generation, I make a distinction between all those born before and after me. So I am careful to recognize the difference between older and younger brothers and sisters. This is very important for us Kaka people because the wives of all my older brothers are "my wives" also. At least that is how I'm taught to call them. And since I call them "my wives" they call me "their husband." I can marry them if my older brother dies. However, for my younger brothers I call their wives "sisters-in-law" and can never look forward to marrying or being given one of these "sisters-in-law." All of the children of my generation in my clan are brothers and sisters to me. If I am ever in doubt about whether a certain boy or girl is a brother or sister, I merely stop to ask whether his father is a "father" to me, too. In mother's clan there are no brothers or sisters, however, just "mothers" and "fathers" (except for mother's brothers).

The closest relations I have are with my brothers. I look up with respect to older brothers because they stand closer to my father's authority than I do. I am likewise respected by my younger brothers.

As for my sisters, it is not a question of authority. We have that same feeling for "sisters" that we do for "mothers." For instance, if some boys from another clan are joking with me about a sexual affair and my sister is present, I feel compelled to go and hide in the grass. My sister, too, will get up and leave. If we go to bathe after 8 or 10 years of age and there is a "sister" bathing, we will pass on and come back after she is gone. If I should be with girls who are not "mothers" or "sisters" and we would see two dogs copulating, the boys will point to it and laugh and try to get the girls in a similar mood. But if I should see such a thing while in the presence of a "mother" or "sister," I would feel embarrassed and would act as though I had never noticed the copulating dogs. We know that the young white people kiss their sisters, but if such a thought makes you sick at your stomach, it must be best to avoid such close contact with a sister. There are many words in our language which signal a sexual connotation. When I speak around "mothers" and "sisters," I talk with guarded lips so that these words do not offend them and embarrass me.

Uncles. In a patrilineal society the main spot open for an uncle is mother's brother. In Kaka I call mother's brother koko and he calls me taa. Our relationship is a difficult thing for the mind of a white man to grasp. Here are some of the things koko and I do. I can go into his house and help myself to about anything he has and he doesn't say a word. If he buys a new bicycle, I will probably be the first to break it for him, but I won't have to pay for it. If I am hungry, I will go catch a chicken or goat belonging to koko and carry it off without saying "Please," "Thank you," "Hello," or "Good-by." We feel that is just the way kokos are. We children often say that God made two good people in the world, Grandpa, who is so indulgent, and koko, who is so naïve. Another aspect of the koko complex is that I call koko's wife "my wife" and she, of course, calls me "my husband," just like she calls uncle koko. This is about like the wives of my older brothers, but in the case of this "wife" I can have free sexual access to her while koko is alive. If I am at koko's house and "my wife," Mrs. Koko, is not too busy, we get together on koko's bed. If koko comes home while we are engaged, I merely call

out, "It's taa," and he acts as though he doesn't know what is going on inside. When I have finished with koko's good wife, I may pick up a chicken in the yard and amble back home. When koko sells his tobacco, all of his taa really become pests, for we go sit down at his house and joke with him about his wealth. Finally he goes to my father and gives him some money. Then, we leave him alone until we hear he has gotten hold of some more cash. Soon we do it all over again. However, custom declares that I pay koko in certain cases, too. If I kill an animal, the whole front quarter belongs to koko, and if he doesn't get it there will be trouble afoot. If koko kills an animal, taa gets the head. Since there are many koko with still more taa, who is the one to get the meat? Every koko has his favorite taa, and certain taa have favorite koko. However, the first taa or koko to appear may often be the recipient of the meat. It is for this reason that we taa always make it a point to know what koko is up to. If I suffer a wound which disables me in the slightest, I am obligated to make a payment to koko. If koko is wounded, he must pay the father of one of his taa, or the taa himself if the latter is an adult. If my child dies, I must pay that child's koko for the death. (That is, my wife's brothers.) I pay also to my koko if I am ill, and koko pays his taa if he is ill. If I go to prison, I pay koko, or if he goes, he pays his taa. Taa may inherit the wives of koko upon koko's death. However, koko's younger brothers have first choice. If there are no younger brothers, the taa are the next in line. (The woman has considerable freedom to choose for herself.) You may ask why all this reciprocity between taa and koko. We Kaka see it like this. First, the marriage relationship surrenders the girl's productivity to another clan. This girl's brothers do not wish it to be entirely a one-sided affair. Hence koko retains an economic relation with his sister's offspring, taa. While a male from another clan has paid for the productive rights (the dowry), the woman's brothers keep a secondary utilitarian interest in the offpsring. Under the Kaka life of the hunt the meat which a taa provides for koko is considerable more than the older koko provides for taa. Consequently, the death, illness, imprisonment, or other indisposition of a taa means less meat supply for koko. Therefore a financial settlement is felt to be in order.

To make the distinction between koko's wife (who is not of my mother's clan) and her offspring who are in my mother's clan, it follows that "my wife's" daughter turns out to be "my mother." Likewise, koko's son is also koko, and his wife is "my wife," while his daughter is again "my mother." In English this first "mother" would be my first cousin and the second "mother" a second cousin, (or first cousin once removed).

Wife. The people whom I call "my wife" (they call me "my husband") are: (1) koko's wife or wives, (2) the wives of my older brothers, and (3) my wife's younger sisters. Koko's wife is sort of a self-service kind of a neighbor. However, I am not free to have promiscuous relations with my older brothers' wives. I may have relations with my wife's younger sisters, but after these are married this is less frequent. They are potentially "wives" for me, since I may marry one or more of them after I marry the first. For this reason it is advisable to marry an older sister always so that you can get the younger ones, too, later on. One cannot marry the older sisters of one's wife. If my first wife does not bear children, her family is obligated to provide another "sister" without the additional payment of dowry.

The relation of husband and wives is complex, and we won't discuss it here except as this relation bears upon the sexual code.

Fathers- and mothers-in-law. My father- and mother-in-law represent two highly respected symbols for me. Not only do I pay them for the productivity rights of their daughter, but I will continue throughout their lifetime to pay in cash and kind if I am satisfied with my wife as producer of children and garden stuff. I shall never enter the sleeping quarters of my parents-in-law. This spot I hold to be holy. If I should ever trespass here, I might behold the sex act which brought forth my wife, and this would be against all proper thought and conduct. Because I respect my in-laws, I will not use their names in conversation nor address them as anything other than the respected term ki. If I have a relative with the same name as my ki, I will pay at the wedding for the right to speak this name. In this way my ki will know that I

am not being disrespectful if he or she should overhear me pronouncing his or her name.

Just as I avoid all sexual symbolism with my "mother" and "sister" kin, so I do the same with ki. Furthermore, I am not free to joke with ki like I do with koko. When I meet a ki my face is long and sad, reflecting my deepest humility and highest respect. My mother- and father-in-law are not my only ki relatives. My wife's older sisters are also called ki and merit the same kind of preferential respect.

5. How is the sexual orientation of a Kaka tribesman determined by his kinship system?

Within the kinship system there are two sets of females: those who are considered sisters and mothers (the incest block), and the wife group who are potential spouses (the sex contact block). Consequently, the Kaka makes a fundamental separation between this incest group and the available or potentially available set on the basis of linguistic symbols. The word nyari, which includes koko's wife or wives, my wife's younger sisters, my older brothers' wives, signals to me a potential sex contact, and the behavior that follows is according to the expected signal. "Sister" and "mother" are terms which signal "incest, stop, on guard, death to the offender, etc." The symbolism associated with both these categories builds itself into a full-blown world of symbolic reality that is transformed into real behavior. The result of having linguistic symbols to mark off sexual behavior is very neat and precise as long as the old kin groups remain in contact and as long as outside influences do not intervene. This means merely that a Kaka depends upon language signals to provide for his primary clues as to how he should or should not behave as regards the opposite sex.

6. What does No. 5 imply as to non-kinship sexual attitudes?

It implies that one knows how to behave sexually within the kin system. This system reveals that the outer limits (koko's wife, wives of older brothers, etc.) of the kin group are the starting point for increased sexual interest which be-

gins by the signal "my wife." Every other female who is not a mother or sister (or grandmother or female father = father's sister) is a potential spouse, although all of these outside women do not carry the kin term of "my wife." The African has a polar concept of sex (not frigid as an iceberg). At one pole he lumps together the incest block and closes his thought to it. At the other pole is an open accessible female world, all of whom are potential wives. It is into this world he moves with sexual aggression which is as positive at this pole as it is negative at the other.

7. Does the kinship orientation of sexual behavior explain the Kaka sexual attitudes?

It does to a large extent. At least it sets the position from which he views sex, i.e. the incest block vs. the rest of the female world. The one is associated with supernatural punishment, while the other attains to life's greatest good--productivity and continuation of the male lineage, which is his greatest moral obligation to the fathers of the clan.

8. How do premarital sex relations affect extramarital ones?

When a girl reaches puberty or near puberty, the women begin to remind her that her nubile state is given her to produce children. At her first sex contact at puberty the father will be wounded in the hunt or at his garden work. This is a signal for him to inquire as to his daughter's sex relations. If the girl admits having had a contact (there is no punishment or disgrace connected with it, and hence no reason to conceal it) the father will collect a "defloweration" charge from the boy. This means that the girl is now available for dowry payment. If a dowry is paid, the father of the future groom requests that the girl be protected from further sex contacts. If the girl's marriage is not begun at this time, she is free to indulge in sexual promiscuity as often and with as many males as she chooses. The reason for requesting that a future bride not be allowed promiscuity is that a partial dowry payment has been made, and if the girl becomes pregnant, there will be a struggle over the ownership of the child. During this period of open or hidden promiscuity (hidden somewhat

if a partial dowry has been paid) a girl picks up dozens of suitors. These males never relinguish their claims on the girl even after marriage. Consequently, her premarital suitors often continue to seek relations after marriage.

9. What does a Kaka understand in the term adultery?

Sex contacts are defined according to the persons involved. Relations between an individual and koko's wife are simply "sex relations." This is considered about on the level of paying a social call. Premarital relations, called bindi, is an act which young people are expected to indulge in. It is the way in which girls prepare themselves for the ends to which a woman has been born--to produce children. Extramarital relations called wandja is a complex of its own with no exact equivalent in Euro-American societies. Wandja is like a game in which I win a ko-mbe (my comrade) much to my delight and his disgust. If I have sex relations with Mvondo's wife Mata, then I get to call Mata my wandja or mistress, and Mvondo has to call me his ko-mbe. It is the desire of most men to be able to call as many women as possible wandja and to be called ko-mbe. However, to become a ko-mbe I must pay a "fine" for getting his wife as my wandja. Once she is my wandja she is under obligation to feed me if I am hungry and to take care of me when I pass through her village. I, in turn, am expected to present gifts to my wandja. A woman wants to become wandja, as she will receive gifts from many men in this way. None of these acts are understood in the same way missionaries take the term adultery. The Kaka concept of incest is much more serious than the Christian idea of adulterous unions. In other words, there simply is no exact equivalent.

10. Can the idea of wandja serve as an equivalent for adultery? (This is the term the Kaka use to express Euro-American adultery ideas.)

It is true that wandja is an offense to the husband of the adulterous female. However, it is not so because the wife has broken the "sacred vows of marriage," nor is it because a man would suspect the paternity of his wife's offpsring. The offense is in the thought of having been forced into the ko-mbe

relation which gives the adulterous male a superior social prestige position. Also important is the fact that an adulterous woman implies that her husband is less potent than some other male. This is a bitter bit of ridicule which no Kaka man can easily take. Consequently, his reputation as a sire of offspring is belittled in the eyes of the other village women and his chances of gaining wandjas for himself are crippled. It often results in the man taking his wife and family and moving from the village. A further factor is that of the food relation between a man and his wandja. If a husband's meat from the hunt is going to feed his adulterous ko-mbe, he will suffer himself and such meat will injure his chances in the hunt as well as his medicine for the traps.

11. Who is actually wronged in a wandja relation?

The answer again is the economic one. The rights of ownership for the purpose of production paid via the dowry is the thing which is wronged. No person as such is wronged. If the adulterous wife bears a child, the paternity of the child is never a question. It is ownership that counts. The owner of the child is the one who has paid the dowry. If no dowry has been paid, the offspring belongs to the mother's father's brothers or some other male relative.

12. How important is the woman's attitude in adulterous unions?

Younger and middle-aged women encourage adulterous unions by ridiculing men as impotent if they do not make sexual advances. It is common for a group of women to mock a man and jest with him ridiculing the size of his genitalia. The natural defense of the male is to subdue one of the women and convince her or them that he is equally as potent as the other men of the village.

13. What is the symbolism of sex dreams?

The incestuous dream is often a foreboding of death. There are dozens of other dreams among the Kaka which are interpreted as omens of evil luck and death. However, there is one

dream which can issue only in the greatest of all good fortune: extramarital sex relations.

14. How do Kaka Christians rate adultery in their moral concept of right and wrong?

First of all, the greatest wrong is incest, then stinginess within the ddité, and then theft. Wandja or adultery is a wrong against the dowry, but since it is an act into which two agreeing parties enter, it is not looked upon as harmful to any party on the order in which incest, stinginess, and theft are.

15. Why is there such a moral gulf between incest and wandja?

Simply because incest violates religious values, the sanctity of the clan and ddité, and is punishable by the spirits of the dead, while wandja is a misuse of ownership rights which can always be righted by payment in cash or kind. The spirits cannot be satisfied with money payment because they are the supernatural defenders of the holiness of the tribe or clan.

16. How does polygyny figure in the sexual foundations of the Kaka?

First, a man who stands to inherit wives from his older brothers or his koko is apt to become a polygynist. Polygyny is dominated by economic interests. We discuss three kinds here. (1) Chief polygyny is the possession of plural wives in order to feed and care for the large number of notables who are necessary for handling village affairs. (2) Fonctionnaire polygyny is an institution developed by the French administration by adding to the salary of government employees for each of their children. This is the reflection of the economic bent of polygyny. (3) Ordinary polygyny or village polygyny is the possession of plural wives in order to provide the work force necessary to keep up large gardens, tobacco, coffee, and cocoa farms. Polygyny is the "desired" form of marriage among the Kaka. At Mindourou, the oldest center of Protestant influence in the subdivision of Batouri, one third of the husbands have

two or more wives. Fonctionnaire polygyny is doing the greatest moral harm to the Christian efforts of the South Cameroun.

Polygyny should be considered primarily from its economic position. In this way a woman may be thought of as a bond or stock. (1) There is always full return on the cash investment. (2) The woman produces steady dividends in the form of children and labor. (3) If the woman is in default (no children), another will be given in her place. Polygyny is not primarily related to sexual matters. However, some women prefer to be co-wives as they will have less sex contact from the same man in this way.

17. Is the dowry related to sexual values among the Kaka?

The dowry is a financial or economic arrangement between two clans or families in which the one group recompenses the other for the right to claim the offspring born into the marriage. The dowry (or lack of it) secures for the child his right to claim his legal position as a member of his father's or mother's clan. In a patrilineal society he naturally belongs to his father's clan, provided, of course, his father has him through dowry rights of clan possession. Otherwise he is the property (member) of his mother's clan. Hence the dowry establishes clan rights and is not concerned with sex behavior as such.

18. Is there no end in sight for the dowry?

The dowry will last probably as long as the clan does because they are integrally related. The dowry is a woman's pride. If women had independent careers and educational opportunities, they would not feel the need of the dowry. However, the desire of some pastors to do away with the dowry for their children's marriage must assume two basic considerations. (1) That the establishment of clan identity is no longer important and functional. (2) That the girl involved is sufficiently independent and satisfied with her status in the world that other females cannot bring ridicule pressure uopn her. The pastors who make these assumptions often fail in the second requirement. The women of the Cameroun do not

have economic and social status of sufficient ranking to free themselves from the stigma of "dowrylessness."

19. Christians often have huge families which are the envy of non-Christians. Does this mean they have been given God's special blessing for becoming Christians?

I do not believe that God blesses 14 or 15 children on a poor pastor or catechist just because he has become a Christian, especially in view of the fact that the mother may be neurotic with frequent childbirth and the father, living on a small salary, is unable to feed, clothe, and educate the offspring. This problem occurs everywhere throughout the Christian world where people have been accustomed to having free extramarital relations and then become conjugally faithful after becoming Christians. Rather than blaming or crediting God for rewarding a Christian for what he is normally expected to do anyway, one can expect that the faithfulness of man to wife and vice versa prevents the malfunction of organs through venereal infections and allows the wife to become pregnant more readily. Also important is the fact that the husband is more likely to be seeking relations from his own wife during her fertile period, whereas before he may have been indulging in extramarital relations at the time when his wife could have conceived.

20. The transitional life among the Kaka has produced many changes. What is the nature of some of these?

(1) The loss of former moral supporting beliefs. The Kaka, like many other African tribes, have, through European contacts, questioned some of their strongest moral linking beliefs. The idea that incest would result in immediate death is a very rigid belief which snaps when too much pressure is brought to bear on it. The witness of Christianity is often only a one-sided communication in which the new symbols and the new life are readily accepted. Those who are accepting the new cannot continue to hold on to the old. Consequently, unless there is a filling of the old moral support, the tendency to be a Christian with a crumpled moral life is the result. Many African Christians are capable of the transition

to Christianity while others merely find the transition a happy escape from an older order which wore heavy on their conscience. A truly converted African may find no inner weakening; on the contrary, the Christian life is apt to provide him with a renewed spiritual energy which has deep moral ramifications. However, the loss of old moral supports creates new problems for Christian as well as non-Christian. Often the Christian, while having made a successful adaptation to Christian standards, simply has no precedent or tradition for coping with newly developed situations.

(2) The economic base that is replacing the kin group orientation. Formerly when one's entire universe was the village or clan there were, as indicated here, strong orientations toward the economic and ownership aspects of life. As people have come out of the villages and gone into education and work they have carried these orientations with them. The kin group direction is not possible where one is disassociated from that group. The Kaka have learned that the only way to have recognition from the whites has been to simulate as nearly as possible the white man's standard of living. Money is required to do this, a great deal of money. Consequently, many Kaka impress the whites as having an abnormal lust for money and material goods. The payments which are exchanged between taa and koko continue in force today even where taa and koko are living separately and engaged in professions. In the village the payments are greater in cash due to the decrease in meat supply and the increased desire for European goods.

21. Can the mission help the African church in such problems as sex and adultery?

In the first place, Christianity among the Kaka (peoples of the Southern Cameroun) must not be envisioned in the Euro-American family setting. The problem for Christianity among the Kaka people is the establishment of a Christian patrilineal society and the Christianization of the ddité and mbo. If the only way in which Christianity can be implanted is to supplant the patrilineal clan with some form of European society, then Christianity is nothing more than an elaboration of our Western ideas and forms of life.

The Kaka view of sex, kinship, and adultery is undergoing change. Part of this transition is stimulated by Christian and part by non-Christian sources. These elements are working directly against each other. Sexual perversions, prostitution, and other institutions are making themselves felt right along with endeavors to maintain standards of conduct which have constituted the central stream of Christian tradition. In this conflicting picture of multiple stresses the Kaka are sure only within the familiar direction of the ddité and mbo. Consequently, a Christianity which does not make itself intelligible on familiar grounds runs the chance of becoming irrelevant.

An example of how such relevancy can be established is the case of the African concept of productivity. The African is oriented toward productivity on the basis of what constitutes the good life. As long as productivity leads to the good, then all things associated with productivity are good. This is in essence how a Kaka philosopher might state the case. Consequently, premarital relations, extramarital relations, extreme sexual indulgence, plurality of wives, and many children are all aspects of the good life. The Christian does not and need not give up entirely this African view of the good. However, as a Christian he is expected to transform the value and associations of productivity. This transformation does not come simply by becoming a church member.

There needs to be a joint effort of African Christian leaders and missionaries to examine these questions together so that the younger churches may be informed as to the biological bases of human productivity. However, in so doing it will be necessary for medical missionaries and other whites to remember that the high value which the African places on fertility and productivity arises from a moral obligation to his patrilineal society in which each man is expected to maintain the continuation of his lineage. This obligation is to him close to the deepest moral springs of his being. The mechanization of biological facts must be woven into a moral fabric in order that the African will benefit from these facts as he should. Such an exchange should go a long way to assist foreign missionaries to appreciate and sympathetically understand

the African transitional viewpoint as well as to assist the young churches to face this changing life with a satisfactory set of values.

22. Looking at Kaka life from the side of Christianity, what is the major problem?

The conversion of the Kaka concept of God.[2] The Kaka concept of God is that of a spider, Ndjambie, who before the coming of Christianity quietly spun the heavens and kept the stars and clouds in their place. Since Christianity, Ndjambie has been asked to give up his patient impersonal toiling and to come down and intervene in the lives of men. Ndjambie is, according to Christian teaching, the God of history who thought ahead, conceived of an idea for many years in advance, worked out a plan and carried it out, and now, having made a huge personal sacrifice, remains intensely interested in man as an individual. This planning ahead for the coming of Christ, doing it, and being interested in man in a personal dimension does not in any way fit the personality of the unpredictable Ndjambie, who never had any plan, never could have brought forth a son, and who, of all things, was never interested in the ethical doings of anybody. Ndjambie (the spider) was not and is not predictable. He is part of the whole world, which has no history but which is pushed along by accident and the cosmos. If Ndjambie had been interested in doing anything for anyone, the people might have felt like asking him for something. No one ever did.

As in the case of most nonliterate peoples, the idea of Ndjambie is tied up with the undifferentiated Cosmos. The Cosmos-God is the least personal any concept can become. Consequently, it is not surprising to see that Ndjambie is Fate and that man is utterly controlled by a cruel, unpredictable, and impersonal fate which is symbolized by Ndjambie.

The greatest transformation which can come in the life of any society is the conversion of their God to the personal Christian idea of God. The societal changes which will follow in the wake of such a conversion may be witnessed in the history of the Hebrews, who separated God from nature, or better,

whose God through His self-revelation separated Himself from the primitive nature idea imbedded in man's thinking.

This task is not accomplished by missionaries speaking and assuming that Ndjambie and God are equivalent substitutable symbols. They are not. For most, Ndjambie in 1957 is not the Christian God, even though the translated Scriptures call Him by that name. The missionary who will make a contribution to the Christian transformation of Kaka ideas will first recognize the nonequivalence in our terms and then will make his teaching relevant and instructive to the Kaka world of reality.

Footnotes

1. This paper was prepared for a mission meeting, and was not written with Practical Anthropology directly in mind. This accounts for its question-and-answer form.

2. See William D. Reyburn, "The Transformation of God and the Conversion of Man," Practical Anthropology, Vol. 4, No. 6 (Nov.-Dec., 1957), pp. 185-193.

THE BRIDGES OF GOD[1]

William A. Smalley

One of the characteristics of human cultures to which we have not given adequate consideration in the development of missionary theories and practice is that of the channels of communication within a society. When a person speaks, not everyone within hearing responds in the same way. Usually, a large part of the difference between the responses of the individuals is structured in the culture by the relative roles which the speaker and the various hearers have. In a modern American office, if a stranger (or someone who was not personally a stranger to the people working in the office, but who was not part of the firm) walked in and urged all of the stenographers very seriously to change their procedure of operation, to move their desks, to transcribe his dictation, or any number of other things, he would probably not meet with any considerable success. The manager of the office, however, could make these same requests and have them followed immediately. The good will with which they would be followed would depend a great deal upon the personal rapport between the manager and the stenographers.

Exactly the same problem in the relative roles which people play in society is inevitably true of the preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ. It is a far different thing for a chief or an important village elder to urge his fellow villagers to turn to Christ than it is for some village nonentity to give a witness. Yet, in the history of modern missions it has often been a collection of village nonentities which has been gathered around the mission, people who are dissatisfied or disgruntled with some phase of their own life and who were therefore attracted by the new and foreign gospel as an escape.

The channel downward from upper hierarchical levels is a major one in many societies, but not necessarily the most important communication channel for all groups. For the communication of the gospel, one of the most significant channels in all parts of the world, except the individualistic West

(and there it is significant, although not as fully so as in other areas), is that of the contact of groups of relatives with groups of relatives. The people who are emotionally related by their kinship and clan bonds are the ones who constitute the most widespread and usually the most significant communication network in human societies. Groups structurally related in the society are the channels of communication, not individuals.

Dr. Donald McGavaran, a second-generation missionary in India, has caught this fact in his extremely significant book, The Bridges of God--A Study in the Strategy of Missions. McGavaran's "bridges" are kinship groups, and he devotes his book to an exposition of the thesis that in the genuine movement of peoples (not isolated individuals) toward Christ, the gospel has spread from relative to relative rather than from individual to individual.

McGavaran makes a basic contrast between the "Mission Station Approach" to evangelism and the "People Movements." The Mission Station Approach has been, as many others have also recognized, a projection of Western colonial pattern. It has set up large stations, and other institutions, and has gathered a church consisting primarily of individuals who have been torn from their own society, either prior to or as a result of their conversion. The Peoples Movements, however, have been those relatively rare but very significant instances in the spread of Christianity when the gospel has resulted in a spark, a flame, a rapidly spreading fire, often without any direct missionary presence, and always with a minimum of missionary supervision. McGavaran does not belabor the point, but these Peoples Movements, where they survive, are usually the true indigenous churches, churches which work out their own expression of Christianity under the Holy Spirit with a minimum of Western domination. Many of these Peoples Movements peter out. Others have resulted in great churches like the Batak church in Indonesia, like the spread of Christendom among the tribes in northern Europe, and, on a smaller scale, like the Toba and Meo movements which have been reported earlier in Practical Anthropology.

McGavaran insists that the growth of the early church in New Testament times was a Peoples Movement. He traces the Apostle Paul's strategy in following up the work which was begun through the spread of Christianity from relative to relative across southeastern Europe.

McGavaran feels that the great mistake in our present missionary movement is our unwieldy association with the Mission Station Approach and our unwillingness to follow up and foster the Peoples Movements when they occur. He feels that if the effort and money which was put into mission station maintenance and evangelism were directed into the Peoples Movement there would be a turning to Christ on a scale analagous to that of the early church.

McGavaran distinguishes between a Christward movement of a people, which he calls discipling, and the perfecting of the people.

> The removal of distracting, divisive, sinful gods and the spirits and ideas from the corporate life of the people and putting Christ at the center on the throne, this we call discipling. (p. 14) The second stage in the establishment is "teaching them all things." For the sake of convenience we shall condense these words into another term and say that the second stage is that of perfecting the people. This is a bringing about of an ethical change in the discipled group, an increasing achievement of a thoroughly Christian way of life for the community as a whole, and the conversion of the individuals making up each generation as they come to the age of decision. (p. 15.)

> As Canon Max Warren points out in his description of revival in Ruanda, "first there was a period when people flooded into the church for a variety of reasons...then came the stirring of revival." Had the missionaries refused to let people flood in and be "prosaically prepared" for membership unless they manifested the full joy of revival, the latter revivals of a thousand congregations could not have taken place. Discipling is one thing; per-

> fecting is another. This point gains importance because many a Christian leader confuses perfecting for discipling. Distinguishing these two stages is essential for those who lead peoples to become Christians. The second stage overlaps the first, but it cannot precede it without destroying it. (p. 16).

A former missionary in the Middle East tells me of a time while he was a very young missionary when a Moslem tribe, through its leaders, came to him and announced that it wanted to become Christian. This was, of course, a completely unprecedented experience for such a missionary or a mission working in Moslem lands, and this mission, much to the missionary's regret, felt that since these individuals were not all personally converted it could have nothing to do with them. It is very possible that nothing would have come of their request, or that if the group had turned Christian it would have been killed by its neighbors, but a little imagination cannot help raising the question of what might have been the effect of a Christward movement among a Moslem tribe in southern Jordan nearly a generation ago if a mission had fostered it rather than just squelching it.

McGavaran's book carries a high spiritual tone. His is not simply a sociology of missions. He is not interested in labeling groups of people with the stamp of Christendom. But he has grasped the essential anthropological fact that the groundwork for conversion has been improperly laid in most of our modern missionary effort, and he has written a telling analysis of the situation.

Were we to follow his suggestions, most of our present mission installations would be sold or turned over to the relatively weak churches which they foster and the money and personnel (enormous amounts of both) would go into the judicious development of the Peoples Movements.

McGavaran is not unaware of the dangers in turning money and missions into such channels. Not the least of these dangers would be the carryover of our habits into an attempt to colonize these movements, and to stifle them under foreign

funds and domination. His tables on pages 143 to 145, however, are extremely pertinent, and the points which he makes, that most of the Peoples Movements do need guidance from the older churches and that they need education and medical care are well taken within the limitations of the problems of culture change[3] which any such effort entails.

We commend the reading of McGavaran's Bridges of God to every reader of Practical Anthropology. We also recommend to every missionary his own serious consideration of the questions: Is it possible for me to give up my ideas of "founding" a church and instead light a spark which will spread among these peoples, sweeping many thousands into the Kingdom of God, and which will give me an opportunity to teach and to foster and to strengthen a church which the Holy Spirit has founded? What could be Bridges of God in my area?

Footnotes

1. This is a review article of Donald McGavaran's The Bridges of God, published in 1955 by World Dominion Press and distributed in the United States by Friendship Press. 168 pp. $1.50 (paper). Copies may be obtained by ordering from Practical Anthropology. See form on page 49.

2. William D. Reyburn, The Toba Indians of the Argentine Chaco. Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, 1954. A review by Robert B. Taylor was published in Practical Anthropology, Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 109-112 (1955). Copies of Reyburn's monograph are available through Practical Anthropology for $.85. G. Linwood Barney, "The Meo--An Incipient Church," Practical Anthropology, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 31-50 (1957).

3. William A. Smalley, "The Missionary and Culture Change," Practical Anthropology, Vol. 4, No. 6 (November-December, 1957) pp. 231-237.

CHRISTIANITY IN HUMAN CULTURE

Motivations for Christianity: An African Conversation

How does a missionary anthropologist get information? Does the fact that he is associated with a mission cripple his ability to get at the facts? Whatever may be his disadvantages, the missionary anthropologist must always work with the people in their own language, and he must have an abiding desire to identify himself with the people he serves. His anthropological advantage is that of securing his data from the normal situations of native life rather than from informant interviews only. He is different from his colleagues in that he must be free to question things which other missionaries take for granted. He must be ready to offer explanations of a people's response and interpretation of Christianity as he ferrets these out through investigation. Such study may be accomplished in a number of ways. The brief account that is given below is intended to provide a small example of the missionary anthropologist's work at his laboratory, attempting to find the answer to a problem which has come to his attention. In this case the question concerns the high motivation which exists among the Kaka of the Camerouns for being "written in the church."

The Problem Appears

"We were written in the mission because we are afraid of our own power," exclaimed an African village chief to me recently. On a previous occasion I had noted that the mission had "written" the names of 164 adults in the Kaka village of Lolo in the subdivision of Batouri, French Cameroun. However, only a handful of women and fewer men ever attended the services regularly. I tried talking with the local catechist to find out the motivation for "being written," but without success. His reasons were not comprehensive and did not accord with some of the major aspects of Kaka culture. His replies that the women liked to go to church on Sunday and that the men wanted to drink wine were insufficient. I determined to investigate, and what I found out proved the catechist wrong, both in his replies and in his ministry.

Lolo is one of those villages where Christianity in the missionary view has been almost totally unsuccessful. It is a village of some 400 souls where the leading men must have several wives to be accorded status. On the one hand, Lolo is quite primitive. They scarify their children's bodies, perform circumcision rites and chip their teeth, practice numerous taboos related to birth, death, and the hunt. Their economy is divided between hunting and gardening. Their food is almost exclusively manioc flour which they boil into a gelatinous mush and eat with their hands.

On the other score, Lolo is quite modern. It boasts a Christian church with a paid catechist, a French school (first and second grades) subsidized by the government, and a year-round automobile road which cuts through the heart of the village. Tuesday and Wednesday, as regularly as clockwork, a four-engine plane drones through the clouds high over Lolo. The weekly g-string is covered on Sunday by a flowery print dress, a flowing Hausa robe, or occasionally a tattered European overcoat. A small bus is available several days a week for the 80-kilometer bounce to the regional center at Batouri. In spite of all this, the power of a dead panther is vastly more significant in the Lolo way of thinking than the airplanes which fly overhead.

Where to Begin?

The problem I wanted to investigate was not complex, but how I would approach it would determine largely the kind of information I would obtain. I could choose to sit at the catechist's house and invite informants to come and visit with me, or I could go into Lolo and live with the people and seek the answers to my problem from the normal conversations of the day and in more subtle ways than asking direct questions. I chose the latter. Taking my regular assistant, a Kaka tribesman who knew many of the men in the village, we moved in with no food and as little gear as we could possibly get by with. It took two weeks to convince the people that a white man could really want to live like the people. Their constant remarks were, "The other tribes don't like our food and say we are dirty. We are so surprised that a white man eats with us,

and we thank you." During this two weeks, I did not push for answers to questions but merely listened to others talk and only talked when I was addressed.

Later our talks often ran well into the night as I was riddled with questions about the strange world of the whites. I even had to attempt to explain about Sputnik, and that in a language that has no words for round, gravity, or space. I wondered often why in all of their incessant questioning they never seemed to want to inquire about the mission. I thought this was perhaps because I was connected with the mission and they did not want to bring up a subject which they were tired of hearing about from the catechist.

The Natural Occasion Ripens

Finally one night, as a group of village elders and I were sitting in the chief's courtyard, the old chief puffed slowly on his clay pipe, blew a gust of smoke against his hand, handed the pipe to the man beside him, and turning to me said, "White man Kaka, what is your name?" I told him my first name. "No," he exclaimed, "that's your pagan name. What is your mission name?" Fortunately my middle name is also good in French, so I told him, and he sighed, "Aha, we will call you Davidi now." At last it began to look like they were going to start talking toward my subject. I asked him in turn if he had a "mission name." "No," he blurted, "I can't have a mission name." "Why?" I asked. "Look around you," he exclaimed, pointing to six thatched-roof kitchens in his enclosure. "The mission refuses us because we have wives." I thought to myself, "Shall I unload a long discourse on polygamy as I view it, or shall I see what develops here?" I sat quietly. There was a long silent pause. The stars were twinkling brightly in the cool night sky. I did not want to lose the thread of this conversation, as I was determined to find out what I was after only by avoiding the traditional informant kind of artificial situation.

I went back to the question of "mission" names. "Mboundjeliko, do you have a mission name?" I asked a bearded man wearing a Hausa covering. "Yes, God knows me," was his reply.

"Would God know a Kaka name?" he asked, looking at his colleagues. A low grunt of "No" drifted across the courtyard from some of the chief's wives who were listening at a distance. Now they were beginning to expose their thinking, as I wanted. I thought I'd better probe a bit while they were thinking about this. "All right," I said, "suppose you have got a mission name and now God knows you, is that all God is good for? If God knows your mission name, Satan must know it too." Their faces turned toward me. "God can read, can't he?" asked one man. "Yes, I should think so," I replied. "Can Satan read?" two men asked as they rocked forth toward me. "Why not? Even children learn to read." Then again silence fell over us. "Who is stronger, God or Satan?" asked the chief. "God is, of course," I replied. A sigh of relief arose from the men. Turning to the chief, I asked, "Tell me, what do you care about the strength of Satan? Are you a child that you should cry because of Satan?"

The Pay Load Arrives

The chief stood up and pointed a long bony finger at me and said, "We all cry because of lémbo that Satan puts in us." I knew that lémbo was a supernatural power which enters a human and causes him to kill and perform sorcery. The individual may be treated by a shaman and be cured. Sorcerers are people who are possessed by lémbo but will not submit to exorcism and have their lémbo removed. At last they had touched on the vital source that was underlying their motivation for being written in the mission. "Tell me," I said, "are you afraid of lémbo?" The chief replied, "Yes. All men are afraid of the power of lémbo. With lémbo you kill people without wanting to do so; you never touch them, but it is your lémbo inside of you that has killed them. The mission taught us that God would punish killers. We are all killers and we fear God's punishment. We believe that God can stop our lémbo from growing inside of us. Our lémbo will stay small and quiet. God will read the names and know whose lémbo to arrest."

"But," I objected, "how should that affect you men? Most of you are polygamists and the mission won't write your names." "Oh," he laughed, "we have sent our first wives.

This is to show our good heart to God. Would God forget a man who has given him his first wife? The mission will accept only one wife, so we all have put our first wives into God's hands and she will work for us and take care of us in heaven."

I looked about me, and every man in the group was nodding his head in assent to the chief's words. Some of the men started to get up to go home. "Wait," I said, "one more question. What about your lémbo? If you are not written in the mission..." The chief cut me short this time. "No, I'm not written, but I have told others to get their names written. Less chance of me getting killed by their lémbo that way." "That's the way it is," added the group of village elders as they arose and began to depart into the night. I stood up, stretched, called out, "Sleep well," and picked my way through sleeping goats and sheep until I reached my shack. With the aid of my flashlight, I wrote up my notes for this night's interview.

Questions

(1) Why had the local catechist, the one literate man in Lolo, been unable to provide an answer to the questions concerned? Was he not aware that the people of Lolo were living under considerable stress created by witchcraft assumptions? Yes, he was very much aware of it, but missionaries had always relegated witchcraft to the trash can and the trained catechist's training and contact with missionaries had taught him to be naïve about the most dynamic forces in his own life. His education was formed in the categories of the missionaries' experience only, and this had imposed upon him a sophisticated atmosphere which was irrelevant to the task of presenting the gospel in Lolo.

(2) If the Kaka belief in witchcraft and its understanding of the male and female roles had been made an integral part of the catechist's training, would the preaching in Lolo be as irrelevant as it is presently? There can be no doubt of the matter. The catechists are trained by the mission to play hide and seek with their own beliefs. They themselves have been

successful in their learning of the missionary teaching only by accepting an additional set of assumptions. There is no evidence that they have replaced earlier ones. The people of Lolo must interpret the teaching within their own categories of cultural thought. Had the catechist dealt with the gospel in the light of the people's belief in lémbo and in terms of the male and female relations, the function of the church and their relation to God would have been both intelligible and true. As it is, they have been left to interpret it blindly. His teaching left completely untouched the areas of their thinking which were to them the ones related to the subjects which the catechist spoke on, viz. man and his religious world.

(3) Is it possible to merely announce the "good news" in the language of the people? Definitely not. Announcing new ideas concerning man and his religious thoughts must compete with the pre-existing understanding that is already formed in his life. He must associate ideas, interpret, select, and discard in the light of his comprehension and pre-existing belief. It is the task of missionary anthropologists to point up this problem in communication and suggest concrete ways for more effective communication.

W.D.R.

From the Business Manager

Reports have been received that several of our subscribers never received their Sept.-Oct. issue of P.A. We are sorry to hear this. If you failed to get your copy, drop us a postcard and we will be glad to send another one to you.

PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

Missionary Interpersonal Relations--Younger versus Older

I am a young missionary in my first term of service. I think I am a typical representative of the younger generation of missionaries in our mission and many others. I have been carefully screened by means of required physical and psychological tests from contemporaries who also sought to enter missionary service. I have been highly trained in my special field. In addition, I have taken courses in the theory, theology, and practice of missions. I have learned to be very critical of the methods of mission work practiced by those of the preceding generations. I have come to be very aware of the fact that the present situation in mission lands is crucial. I know that this new day of new problems demands that we adopt new approaches, adapt ourselves in different ways, or risk the probability of losing our opportunity. I am interested in the point of view reflected in much of the material in Practical Anthropology.

I have read many books and articles pointing up the fact that missions today are at the crossroads, especially here in Africa. We must today, as never before, have a sense of urgency about us, for the time left to us may not be long. We cannot afford to experiment. We cannot afford to make mistakes. Now is the time to jump at the opportunities before us. It is now, or maybe never, to push forward, to get the native church on its feet, to make ourselves dispensable before the door is closed.

To accomplish these things most efficiently, I must become an expert in my specialized field and devote my full time and energy to advancing (and probably reforming) this aspect of the mission's work.

I carry these ideas into a mission situation where approximately two thirds of the more than sixty missionaries are in their first or second term of service. I find that many of them share my viewpoint, but they are quite careful to let me know that it is the older missionaries who are in charge of

things. And it seems that these older missionaries have not received the same training that we have, have not read the same books that we have, are not as aware as we are of the need for drastic measures in these crucial times. In short, I am warned to look out for the older missionaries (and the younger ones who have become "old" in outlook); they will oppose anything you suggest.

What shall I do? What attitude shall I take toward the work as a whole? Toward the older missionaries? Toward the pursuing of my specialty? Toward the younger missionaries, some of whom have obviously gone overboard in one way or another and have raised unnecessary antagonism against themselves and their type of work?[1]

A Linguist's Answer from Nigeria

My wife and I came to Nigeria as linguistic specialists knowing that we had two major tasks facing us: (1) The reducing of an unwritten language to writing, and (2) the improving (perhaps reforming) of the whole language program of the mission which presently works in three Nigerian languages. We found the older missionaries rather firmly entrenched in the position of leadership and quite critical of many of the ideas and actions of the new generation (which likewise constitutes the majority on our field). Many of the younger missionaries have resented this critical attitude and have, at times, openly opposed the mission leaders. This does not make for a very pleasant state of affairs, especially if you are young and have big ideas.

We have taken the position that the cultivation of proper basic attitudes is the fundamental criterion for successful adjustment to any situation. Some of the attitudes we have tried to cultivate in this situation are:

1. That, after all, we are newcomers and no amount of theoretical training can take the place of long experience. We have much to learn; let's be learners until asked to lead. Let's learn from those with experience and seek to synthesize a proper perspective from the combination of

their ideas and ours. Let's take full advantage of their experience to implement our training.

2. All we ask is for a chance to prove ourselves--a chance to stand or fall on our own merits. We are voluntarily subject to those now in authority until such time as others may want to exalt us to a position of authority. Our opinion of ourselves, our work, and the value of our work is bound to be higher than it ought to be--take this into account and wait for others to give a more true evaluation.

3. We are willing to sacrifice self-interest (no matter how strongly felt) for what those in authority feel is for the best interests of the mission.

4. We seek to improve the future of the work (in whatever way allowed--no matter how small) rather than wasting time and energy criticizing the present or past.

5. We let our actions do the major part of our speaking until we are asked to present our ideas also in words.

We were asked to live with the co-founder of the mission here--a veteran of thirty-four years of service--who is the Field Secretary of the mission. He was to see to our orientation and provide the opportunity for us to learn the trade language of our area on our own. This we considered a real privilege--a real opportunity to learn firsthand from one of long experience. This was, moreover, an opportunity to begin testing our new ideas and approaches under the close observation of a fit representative of the older missionaries--a chance to be made or broken, to stand or fall, on the merits of what we could demonstrate to him.

We found that we differed quite frequently and sometimes quite radically from him on matters of methodology in linguistic matters. But we are agreed that something must be done about the language situation in the mission. And my wife and I were not demanding unconditional surrender of his ideas and methods in our desire to see something done. As we discussed

these matters, therefore, it became more and more evident that he was willing to join us in experimenting with the language program of the mission. Apparently we had succeeded in our first encounter with a member of "the ruling class" in the mission--we had won his confidence.

He gave us the chance that we sought--to prove ourselves. We sought to learn from him, to recognize and cooperate with the authority that he represented, and to work with him toward the improvement of the future of our work in the way(s) he and the Field Committee thought best. We found ourselves within the first four months of our tour in charge of the mission's first language school-an experiment which saw seven of us (plus three children) crowd into a two-bedroom house and a garage for the sake of more effective language study. The experiment seems to be working, by the way, and we have hopes for permanent buildings and an expanded program soon.

What did we do? We endeavored to cooperate with the powers that be on the basis of our basic principles.

Our attitude toward the work as a whole is not wholly uncritical. But we are endeavoring to fit into the program in the place that those in charge feel best and to work in that place for the improvement of the present and future of the mission program within the limits set for us by those in charge.

We look upon the older missionaries as sources of help and strength and seek their advice often. We do not follow them blindly, and occasionally we allow them to see where and why we differ from them. We have found that they will listen to us if they see evidence that our ideas are well thought out and that our attitude is not one of bullheadedness, but rather of cooperation, subjection, and sincere desire for the betterment of the work.

Our attitude toward the pursuance of our specialty--linguistics--has not met a severe test as yet, since we are being allowed to do linguistic work largely in the way we want to do it. However, our feeling is that we could not stop being lin-

guists anywhere on the mission field, no matter what our primary assignment might be. And if the extent of our linguistic work consists of our learning to speak the language(s) better, or in unofficially helping another person or couple to communicate more effectively, or in preaching sermons, producing literature, or teaching school more effectively--all unofficially (i.e. not as professional linguists), we have no ground for complaint. After all, it is the little job done well rather than the big job done haphazardly that counts for most.

Our attitude toward the younger missionaries is to try to help them if they seek our help, befriend them if they do not. We try to keep from declaring ourselves wholly on one side or the other in this friction between the generations and always to have good reasons for everything we do, which is open to the scrutiny of both sides.

In short, we feel that the older generation can be gotten along with--indeed, must be gotten along with, even at the sacrifice of our less mature--though perhaps theoretically superior--ideas. We have always found them sympathetic to a well-thought-out idea but tough, as they should be, on hair-brained proposals. Moreover, they are at least as concerned as we are that the work of the mission be continually improved and enabled to go forward more effectively.

Charles Kraft

Living in a Bulu Village

Could you ask Dr. William Reyburn to describe the typical daily happenings in his experience of Bulu life?[2] That is, could he picture a typical day which they spent in the Bulu village? How did they get along with food? What did they eat and what were they not able to? Could he be specific?

James Muir

Daily routines were never the same. The period in the village was specifically for language learning, hence we tried to use most of each morning for that purpose. The afternoons

were given over to some kind of activity with the people, and the evenings were used for study or for entertaining the villagers or participating in evening events in the village when these occurred.

On some evenings I would learn of particularly interesting events which were to happen the following day. Then I would pass up the morning study period to accompany the men of the village to the particular event. These included certain hunting trips, village communal work in plantations, market days, the digging of rocks for the foundation of the local church, and a host of others.

No activity in the village could be done on a schedule simply because there was an unending flow of visitors during the day. Sometimes the only way one could study was to lock oneself up in a room. However, it was too hot to close the shutters (which would darken the room) and consequently there would always be half a dozen children who would soon find the hideout. About the easiest way to sum up the daily happenings is to say that when we were in our house we were hosts to a constant flow of visitors.

Particular happenings related to village affairs took place in the men's club house where I spent most of the time in the evenings when the men returned from their plantations. My wife's routine included fishing in the streams with the women and planting in their gardens with them, as well as attending the preparation of food with them.

As for foods: We had a few cans of soups and fruits with us, plus canned milk and staples such as flour, salt, and sugar. The bulk of our diet was our own preparation of African foods, including manioc, the leaves of the manioc which make a very fine spinach, sweet and cooking bananas, yams, macabo, fish and monkey meat, peanuts, pineapples, grapefruit, papaya. There is no question about food in the forest belt of Central Africa. It is on the open grass country where we are now that one is confronted by the food problem. I have personally eaten catepillars with gusto, but it did not come easy at first. In some areas life for the European would be almost a starva-

tion affair, while in others, such as the forest, there is a great, abundant food supply.

W.D.R.

Footnote

1. Name withheld by request.

2. See William D. Reyburn, "Problems of the Participant Role in a Bulu Village," Practical Anthropology, Vol. 3, No. 6 (Nov.-Dec., 1956), p. 105ff., and "Life in an African Village," Practical Anthropology, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Jan.-Feb., 1957), p. 10ff.

BOOK REVIEWS

Anthropology and Missions. Calvin Monograph Series in Sociology, Number 1, by Donald H. Bouma. Grand Rapids: International Publications. 1957. $.15.

Reviewed by J. O. B., III

Inaugurating Calvin's Monograph Series in Sociology, Dr. Bouma has written a paper of great interest to readers of Practical Anthropology.

The author treats appropriate topics concerning the relation of anthropology to missions, the missionary's orientation in a strange culture, cultural relativism, ethnocentrism, translation problems, and the cultural-supercultural dichotomy, providing a brief but pointed introduction to the subject.

A bibliography of eighteen references to pertinent missionary and missionary-anthropology literature upon which the author has relied will lead the reader into further study in this field.

The Communication of the Christian Faith, by Hendrik Kraemer. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. 1956. 128 pp. $2.50.

Reviewed by J. O. B., III

This small but important volume contains the five Laidlaw Lectures delivered by the author at Knox College, Toronto, in 1956.

Composed of five chapters, it is one of the meatiest and most thought-provoking books for those concerned with the cross-cultural transmission of the Christian message which has come to this reviewer's attention for some time.

The theme of much recent missionary correspondence and published literature centers about problems of communication. Kraemer treats various aspects of this theme, first, "in Biblical Perspective," then "in the History of the Church." Chapter three treats "Psychological, Sociological, and Cultural Factors," and the last two chapters, the "Breakdown" and "Restoration" of communication.

As one would expect, problems of language and translation are involved in the development of this theme. But the reader is very soon brought to face the fact that communication "transcends the territory of verbal culture." This is one of the more important messages of the book.

In his analysis of the term, Kraemer presents us with an interesting study of what is involved in "communication." Interesting, because he ignores, or takes for granted as inherent, one of the principal dictionary aspects of its definition and brings into focus a much more pertinent usage for his context. Webster's unabridged, in 1934, said, in part, of the word "communicate," "...formerly followed by with before the person receiving, but now usually by to;..." Thus today, although the earlier usage is by no means dead, we find it necessary to use inter-communication to convey the two-way aspect, and the "inter-com system" has become a regular part of our material culture.

Kraemer, however, makes another kind of distinction. One "essential aspect" is communication between, involving everything implied by communication with and the vital idea of a two-way participation. This idea is basic in the Christian concept of prayer, communion with God through Christ and His Word; why should it not be basic in the communication of the Christian message between men? As Kraemer expressed it, "God wants to be known, not known about." Furthermore, "the art of listening is as important a part of real communication as the dialogue..." The implications of this emphasis, which recurs throughout the book, pervade all phases of missionary responsibility, from initial language learning[1] to teaching Christian doctrine and theology in preparing disciples.

The other aspect, which Kraemer presents as "of the utmost importance," is communication of. "Our main concern is the communication of the Christian message..." A mere communication to seems to have no place whatsoever, if understanding, empathy, and a meeting of minds are involved with the communication.

Another important point is made of the fact that communication of the Christian message is a unique species of communication despite the identical methods used as in other kinds. The author points out that the uniqueness is due to the convicting and convincing power of the Holy Spirit. "The primary author of the effective transmission of the message is the Holy Spirit." It is also due to the fact that "its inherent aim is not persuasion,...but conversion."

The immensely practical considerations discussed by Kraemer, which we cannot even enumerate here, stem from the need to correct breakdowns in communication and the consequences proceeding therefrom. For, as he observes, communication is "the hallmark of our humanity, yet more conspicuous by its failure than by its success in the history of human life."

Missionaries and others, read this book! Be prepared, however, to sit without distraction, with some time to ponder and elicit from the sometimes long, multiphrased sentences, the wealth of meaning crowded into this small book.

Footnote

1. See W.D. Reyburn's stress on listening before speaking in "Life in an African Village," Practical Anthropology, Vol. 4, No. 1, (1957), pp. 11-12.

Aspects of Culture, by Harry L. Shapiro. New Brunswick, N.J. Rutgers University Press. 1957. 147 pp. $2.75.

Reviewed by J. O. B., III

The three parts of this volume constitute the 1956 Brown and Haley Lectures delivered by the author at the College of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Washington.

In such brief form as this, the treatment of the subject could hardly be exhaustive. Rather, as Shapiro explains in his Foreword, he has "tried merely by various examples to illustrate some of the ideas to which the concept of culture has given birth and to suggest additional applications that might be profitable to pursue."

Part One, "The Discovery of Culture," which is perhaps the most pertinent to the readers of this journal, after ten introductory pages, considers "Culture and Colonialism," "Culture as Environment," and "Culture in a Changing World."

Shapiro's discussion of colonialism reveals one aspect of the reasons for the colonial powers' early use of anthropology, and thus their missionaries' consciousness of its value:

> Colonialism had thus brought Europeans into increasingly intimate contact with the peoples of the world. They were, by the nineteenth century, governing enormous areas dominated by cultures previously unknown to them. It soon became apparent that if the task of governing these populations and directing their labor into profitable channels were to succeed, it was necessary to understand why these people behaved the way they did. In short, European administrators found themselves face to face with culture.

Colonialism's early failures and present-day tensions were in a large measure caused by failure to understand the functions of foreign culture, even, in some instances, when they were explicitly pointed out to them, because of overriding motives which would have had to be reconsidered. This has given the missionary pause to consider to what extent the same factors may have contributed to certain failures of his own. Shapiro paints the picture starkly as he continues, regarding the early colonists:

> The record shows all too frequently a fumbling approach and sometimes a downright obtuseness in recognizing the facts. Some of the early failures must undoubtedly be laid to the misguided efforts of culture-bound Europeans who could conceive of departures from their own cultural values only as deplorable. Their remedy was to treat these manifestations as childish, ridiculous, or plain vicious and to attempt to substitute their own culture as soon as possible...

This book, because of the many apt examples chosen by the author to illustrate the "aspects of culture," makes excellent collateral reading with any good text on cultural anthropology, or for students of history who wish to broaden their understanding of the dimension contributed by the anthropological approach.

Some Uses of Anthropology: Theoretical and Applied. Edited by Joseph Casagrande and Thomas Gladwin. Washington, D.C.: The Anthropological Society of Washington. 1956. 120 pp. $1.50.

Reviewed by Claude Stipe

This volume consists of eight papers presented at meetings of the Anthropological Society of Washington during the 1954-55 season. These papers reflect the intent of the program to examine "the relationship of anthropology to other fields. . . and its contribution to administrative problems and programs." The "use" of anthropology in which most readers of Practical

Anthropology are interested is not represented, but some of the other fields have problems related to ours.

In "Cross-cultural Education Research and the Study of National Acculturation" John W. Bennett discusses "the innovational function of the highly educated, 'civilized' individual with experience abroad; and problems of deviance and conformity in national societies," using Japanese overseas students for illustration. He concludes that overseas students have all contributed to the changes which have occurred in the modernizing of non-Western cultures, and thus are "certainly objects worthy of serious study by the anthropologist interested in acculturation."

George Devereux considers the shaman in "Normal and Abnormal: the Key Problem of Psychiatric Anthropology," utilizing the key concept in anthropology--culture--and the key concept in psychiatry--normal and abnormal. He concludes that "there is no reason and no excuse for not considering the shaman as a severe neurotic and even as a psychotic." The approach to psychiatry in terms of culture (rather than cultures) provides a deeper insight into psychodynamics and therefore leads to deeper insights into the nature of culture.

In "Anthropology and Public Health" Benjamin D. Paul discusses the case study method of public health teaching. He mentions four contributions which the case study approach can make: (1) conveying social science concepts in a palatable manner; (2) inspiring respect for cultural differences; (3) teaching that culture is more than a collection of customs; and (4) making the students aware that their own cultural values and preconceptions may possibly affect their technical effectiveness.

Thomas Gladwin discusses "Anthropology and Administration in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands." After mentioning problems inherent in the anthropologist's acting in only an advisory capacity, the author states his opinion that "provided he has the opportunity to become adequately knowledgeable in the local culture and can develop adequate rapport, the anthropologist who wants to be useful in administration must

himself become in some degree an administrator." Papers on administration of Indian affairs, on law, and on medicine are also included.

The last paper is "Applied Anthropology, 1955" by Margaret Mead. She discusses many aspects of applied anthropology, of which only two will be mentioned. She notes that relatively few modern field workers take advantage of available technical aids, such as films and IBM machines. After referring to the rapid Westernization of the Manus Islanders, she suggests that we may possibly have overrated the factor of "cultural resistance" in the people who seemed to be unwilling to be assimilated, and underrated the resistance factors in the donor cultures.

One can see by this set of papers that the "uses of anthropology" are many and varied, and that there is much for those with missionary concerns to study for the practical as well as theoretical applications to their own fields.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

On the Outfit List

I heard that our Directorate were considering recommending some reading and study for our new missionary candidates on the anthropological line, so I have sent them a couple of issues of PA with a "review" (quite personal) highly recommending the magazine to them. So a review will likely appear in our mission bulletin, which includes notices on material highly important to our work. I trust, however, that it gets more than recommendation. I suggested that it be put on the "must" part of the outfit list of outgoing missionaries!

J. Edwin Hudspith
Overseas Missionary Fellowship
Wangloong, Amphur Hod,
Chiengmai, Thailand

EDITORIAL REMARKS

One year ago Practical Anthropology had 350 subscribers, and in the first number of 1957 we described our production woes, as we put out the magazine on an amateur and volunteer basis. Today we have 900 subscribers. Woes have turned to anguish, and at some points we have had to pay to have some of our work done commerically. The last issue of 1956 was 24 pages long. This issue is 52 pages long, and we are setting this size as our new minimum for 1958. This increase in pages and the wider column format will mean a considerably increased content.

1957 saw the inauguration of two new regular departments which have been well received, and some of the articles which have appeared are of wide significance. Two articles from PA have appeared in Eternity magazine, and both of these are to be reprinted again in other places. As editor I am eternally grateful for the prolific pens of William D. Reyburn and Eugene A. Nida, whose work has largely sparked PA this year. I sincerely hope their contributions will continue, but whether they do or not, we badly need material from other people. We have noticed a growing interest on the part of some readers outside of the editorial committee to send us material. We are very grateful for such work from missionaries and others. Graduate students G. Linwood Barney and Herbert Purnell came through with articles based on papers prepared in graduate study. We hope that other readers in graduate school will formulate problems for papers not only with their professors and their courses in mind, but also with the possibility of adaptation to PA.